## Message Text

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PM/DCA:MLBRECKON (DRAFT)
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HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, NATO, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS: APRIL 13 POLADS MEETING

REF: A) USNATO 2019; B) USNATO 1996; C) STATE 75283;

- -- D) STATE 38922; E) STOCKHOLM 1503; F) HELSINKI 715;
- -- G) STATE 60121; H) STATE 67783; I) ROME 4043;
- -- J) USNATO 1000
- 1. WITH EXCEPTIONS NOTED BELOW, WE AGREE WITH MISSION THAT REVISED TEXT OF CBMS SHORT PAPER (ISD/145 (REVISED)) AS TRANSMITTED VIA REFTEL A IS AN IMPROVEMENT OVER CONFIDENTIAL

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PREVIOUS DRAFT. MISSION MAY SUPPORT PAPER AS SUCH AT APRIL 13 POLADS MEETING IF FOLLOWING CHANGES CAN BE INCORPORATED:

A. WE WERE UNABLE TO FIND A LOGICAL PLACE ON PAGE 5 OF ISD/146 FOR INSERTION OF THE SUMMARY AND ASSUME MISSION MEANT TO INDICATE PAGE 3BIS. IF CORRECT, THE EXPLANATORY

TEXT SHOULD READ "ON PAGE 3BIS AS THE NEXT TO THE LAST PARAGRAPH OF SECTION 2 (VIII)" RATHER THAN "AT THE BOTTOM OF PAGE 5".

B. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR MINISTERS TO REFLECT UPON A CHECKLIST OF PROPOSED CBM THEMES FOR BELGRADE.

MISSION SHOULD THEREFORE SEEK TO HAVE THESE THEMES INCLUDED IN TEXT TO BE INSERTED AFTER PARAGRAPH 50 OF ISD/146, I.E., AFTER FIRST SENTENCE OF FIRST PARAGRAPH WHICH ENDS "...AT BELGRADE IN THIS AREA.", INSERT "ALLIES SHOULD STRESS FOLLOWING THEMES:" AND THEN ADD AS SEPARATE LINE TICKS A LIST OF THEMES ACCEPTABLE TO THE ALLIES. MISSION MIGHT START WITH THE SEVEN CBM THEMES ENUMERATED IN PARAGRAPH 5(A) OF REFTEL D.

C. MISSION WILL NOTE SWEDISH AND FINNISH REPORTS (PARAGRAPH FOUR OF REFTEL E AND PARAGRAPH 13 OF REFTEL F) THAT NNAS HAVE DECIDED ON A MORE LIMITED CBM EFFORT AT BELGRADE; I.E., THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED. AT THE SAME TIME, IN RECENT BILATERALS WITH NATO COUNTRIES, YUGOSLAVS' STRONG INTEREST IN STRENGTHENING CBMS HAS SHOWN NO ABATEMENT (PARA 2B OF REFTEL H; PARA SIX OF REFTEL I, AND PARA SIX OF REFTEL J). THIRD SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH THREE OF TEXT TO BE INSERTED AFTER PARAGRAPH 50 OF ISD/146 SHOULD BE AMENDED TO READ: "IF SOME OF THESE COUNTRIES SHOULD TAKE STRONG STAND ON THE EXPANSION OF CBMS, ALLIES WOULD..." RATHER THAN "IF, AS NOW SEEMS LIKELY, THESE CONFIDENTIAL

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COUNTRIES TAKE...ALLIES WILL..."

- D. TO GIVE PROPER WEIGHT TO ALLIES' SUBSTANTIVE INTEREST IN CBMS AND TO MAKE CLEAR THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING A DEFENSIVE POSTURE ON DISARMAMENT, WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING CHANGES:
- -- IN THIRD SENTENCE OF FIRST PARAGRAPH OF SECTION TO BE INSERTED AT BOTTOM ON PAGE 3BIS OF ISD/146, ADD THE WORD "SUBSTANTIVE" BETWEEN THE WORDS "OVERALL" AND "GOALS".
- -- REVISE THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THE SECOND PARAGRAPH OF THE SAME SECTION TO READ: "IF THE EAST WERE TO TRY TO FOCUS ON DISARMAMENT, THE ALLIES MIGHT RESPOND BY STRESSING THEIR GENERAL COMMITMENT TO DISARMAMENT."
- -- AT THE END OF THE SAME PARAGRAPH, FOLLOWING THE SENTENCE WHICH ENDS, "...REASONS FOR THEIR REJECTION",

ADD: "THE ALLIANCE SHOULD NOT BE DEFENSIVE IN DISCUSSING ARMS CONTROL ISSUES WITH THE EAST, AND SHOULD ADVERTISE APPROPRIATELY THE ALLIED RECORD OF PROMOTING RESPONSIBLE MEASURES OF ARMS CONTROL WHEREVER POSSIBLE."

-- IN FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA THREE OF THE SECTION TO BE INSERTED AFTER PARAGRAPH 50 OF ISD/146, ADD THE PHRASE "THEIR SUBSTANTIVE GOALS AND" BETWEEN THE WORDS "ALSO

DEPEND ON" AND "THE TACTICAL SITUATION AT BELGRADE."

-- IN PARA FOUR OF THE SAME SECTION: INSERT "A MORE" BETWEEN "FOR" AND "DETAILED DISCUSSION" IN LINE TWO; DROP WORD "THUS" IN LINE THREE (MAKING THE SENTENCE BEGIN, "ALTHOUGH THE ALLIES MAY WISH...); SUBSTITUTE "GREATER" FOR "MAJOR" IN THIRD SENTENCE OF THE PARAGRAPHY; DROP THE WORD "ONLY" AT THE END OF THE THIRD CONFIDENTIAL

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LINE FROM THE END OF THE PARAGRAPH.

- 2. WE CAN AGREE IN PRINCIPLE TO AN ANNEX A CONTAINING A LIST OF POSSIBLE CBM PROPOSALS IN PRIORITY ORDER, AS INDICATED ON PAGE ONE OF DRAFT ANNEX A NOW RECEIVED WITH ISD/146. WE REGRET, HOWEVER, THAT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO PROVIDE THE MISSION WITH GUIDANCE ON SPECIFIC PROPOSALS IN DRAFT ANNEX A AS WELL AS ON SETTING PRIORITIES AMONG AND NARROWING THE LIST OF THOSE PROPOSALS IN TIME FOR THE APRIL 13 POLADS MEETING. IN THE INTERIM, THE MISSION SHOULD SIMPLY MAINTAIN OUR TENTATIVE POSITION STATED IN PARENTHETICAL SENTENCES OF PARAGRAPH TWO, REFTEL G.
- 3. WE NOTE REPORT IN PARAGRAPH TWO OF REFTEL B THAT POLADS DID NOT TURN TO CBMS LONG PAPER BECAUSE OF INSUFFICIENT TIME AND HOPE EVENT WILL REINFORCE MISSION'S ARGUMENT CONCERNING NEED FOR EARLY WORK ON CBMS (PARAGRAPH ONE OF REFTEL C).

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Margaret P. Grafeld	Declassified/Released	US Department of State	EO Systematic Review	22 May 2009

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